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/Information on the "company/stani" as a cooperative work group of related families will be found in categories 612/474./

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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[1] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[1] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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612 have been defeated and plundered. The Greek Orthodox
●594 marriage service is in two parts, the first being the rite of
585 Betrothal (ἀρραβῶνας), the second the rite of 'Crowning' (στεφάνωσις); and normally they are celebrated in church as one ceremony. The Sarakatsani, however, bring a priest to the huts of the bride's family to perform the religious betrothal ceremony which the shepherds name 'the half wedding' (ὁ μισὸς γάμος), and consider to be equal in importance to the office of 'Crowning'. The bride's kinsmen will not surrender her to the groom's retinue until this ceremony is performed, and equally the marriage ceremony cannot be completed until the bride is brought to the home of the bridegroom. In effect, each side celebrates half the marriage service.

594 This double attraction is eventually resolved by the new
612 family's relative emancipation from both the old families. Once the young family has parted from the husband's extended family of origin, it stands on its own without categorical rights over, or obligations towards, other related elementary families. It neither gives nor receives unconditional support of the kind that involves physical violence or economic assistance. In these important respects the family, even within the kindreds of its members, is, in a sense, isolated.

[601] This isolation of the elementary family is accurately reflected by the kinship terminology, although in this respect it does not differ from the general form of European kinship terminologies. It is significant that the terms for the kinship personalities in a man's elementary families of origin and marriage, that is in his inner circle of kinship, are not extended to more distant kinsmen as is the case in many societies with systems of unilineal descent. The family (οἰκογένεια) which may refer, according to context, to either or both elementary families in which the individual has or had corporate membership, and to any surviving grandparents, is part of the kindred, yet at the same time is clearly distinguished from it. In its widest connotation the 'family' is, of course, a class of relations and not a residential group. The principles which essentially relate members of the family are parental obligation and filiation, while the kindred is based on collateral extension. Between these two classes of kinsmen siblings are the bridge, since at the same time they are directly descended from the same parents and grandparents and

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent.

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son.

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης) of his family.

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase.

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman.

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with their cousins.

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582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction be-
[578] tween the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
596 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of
[427] the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting
[558] very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 593 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the [594] elementary family from both the families of origin of the two parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how [596] the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any 594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or 606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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[p.150]

VII

THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

1. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 The elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own [171] society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [587] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the different members of the family to one another. The shepherd husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife for the simple but to him very important attentions which he associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάτ) is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit and eat together. For in this most private situation, the relationship of mutual identification between the members of the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups.

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. Moreover, unrelated families see their different interests as being in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counterpart of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960.

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

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of patronage that links each family individually to the wider structure of Greek society.

But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[1] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[1] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

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It may be agreed (and, in general, correctly) that in a system where a number of groups compete for prestige, a strong group, if it is denied the social recognition it expects, may in frustration turn from competitive action to direct violence and attempt to establish its superiority by force; or it may attempt other forms of direct opposition, perhaps through the use of economic power. But in relation to the Sarakatsan community the family is small and weak. Its inability to make alliances outside the kindreds of its members and their affinal connexions, and the physical dispersion of the Sarakatsani which restricts the activities of any family to only a small area of the total community, are other factors which would tend to prevent a family group and its allies from dominating the remainder of the community; even if we leave aside the certainty of State intervention if violence were used or threatened. Economic or political control of the community by one family and its allies is equally unlikely. Unrelated families do not co-operate to market their produce and consequently there are no co-operative institutions whose officers might manœuvre themselves into positions of economic dominance. Similarly, the community has no institutions of local government which the members of a family and its kinsmen might infiltrate in the attempt to establish a form of political control. The pathetic showing of the Association of Nomad Pastoralists illustrates the concern of all families to prevent the delegation of any effective representative power to others. Each family faces the total community in a condition of dependence. The position it is able to occupy in public life, the quality of the marriage alliances it establishes, depend entirely on its social prestige, that is, they depend on the favourable response of enemies; or more accurately, on the inability of enemies effectively to denigrate a family's reputation.

Prestige (γόητρο) and 'name' concern the Sarakatsani in every context of public action. 'Better to lose your eye than your name', runs the common proverb. This intense competition of families to maintain their prestige against the permanent threat of denigration, and the continual evaluation of other people's conduct, which is fed by an insatiate and hostile curiosity, result in a certain hierarchical ordering of Sarakatsan family groups. In the local gathering of families which share the

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In the local gathering of families which share the pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy, wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community, elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige, it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

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loses its sheep through disease its reputation must fall, but in the living memory of its past greatness it will retain a position of some distinction. On the other hand, if their reputations for wealth and honour are untouched, men of these families may often commit breaches of social convention which leave little permanent mark on their prestige. One tselingas[1] of the 'first lineage' married his daughter to her second cousin, a marriage permitted by the Church but not by the customs of the community, yet after the first shock of his action had passed, his position in the community was essentially unchanged.

The families which fall between these two extremes represent the greater part of the community, perhaps four-fifths of its number. In their case, it is difficult to determine any order of ranking that is objective since these families show few differences in wealth, courage, and honour. Yet this level of equality is not merely a residual category between the two extremes. However subjectively it may be assessed, each family believes in a particular and detailed ordering of prestige in which it must continually struggle to maintain its position. Always action of one kind must be taken, action of another kind avoided, 'so that you do not throw down your prestige' (νὰ μὴ ρίξῃς τὸ γόητρο κάτω). It is precisely among these families of equivalent prestige that rivalry is greatest. For here doubt and insecurity are considerable, and this is reflected in the display of ostentatious pride, a touchy sense of honour, and a compulsive attempt to conform to accepted standards of conduct. The very intensity of this competition supports the stability of the ranking order at either extreme. Other families in the community have a common interest in refusing to accept any claims of increased wealth or virtue put forward by families of the lowest prestige. In this way they confirm their higher ranking. Similarly they unite to deny the pretension of any of their own number to be a family of 'the first lineage', or to establish other grades of differentiation, since this would lead to a relative lowering of their own positions.

In radical form, then, the hierarchy of prestige, considered objectively, has only three ranks: there are those who are first and those who are last, in either case they are few in number. The majority are in the interstitial category from which pride and their common interest against further differentiation

[1] [i.e. the head of a "stani" or "company" -- Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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prevent any of their number from moving in an upward direction. There is always the possibility of falling to the category of those who are last, but the absence of any great differences in wealth, and the value given to the struggle to protect personal and family honour, hold the majority of families to an unwilling recognition of their equality in prestige, which is seldom admitted in speech but is less precarious than it seems.

2. HONOUR

The social reputation, whether of a man or a family, is a composition of various elements, analytically separable in description but with greater difficulty in life. Among these it is convenient to begin with a consideration of the concept of honour (τιμή) since this is fundamental to any assessment of prestige. Indeed, it is doubtful if prestige may be said to exist in its absence.

The translation of this concept by the English word 'honour' is useful if it is remembered that the analogy is only approximate. In modern Greek usage τιμή is conferred as a sign of the recognition of the excellence or worth of a person. It becomes the respect or esteem owed to certain persons, for example, to the heroes of the Revolution. From the point of view of the receiver it is whatever raises him up in the eyes of another and gives him reason for pride. In other contexts it may indicate certain qualities or conditions on which the reputation of an individual, or a group, is dependent. More specifically, it refers to the sexual virtue of a woman. It also describes the monetary price, or value, of an object or service. The last instance points to the common element in these various contextual uses. Τιμή expresses the idea of worth, whether this is an economic value in a market, or social worth evaluated in a complex of competing groups and individuals. Most Sarakatsani would understand this range of use, but they restrict their own employment of this word to the three last instances.

Among the Sarakatsani the concept refers particularly to the honour of the individual and the family, these two points of reference rarely leading to any conflict of loyalties since the solidarity of the elementary family is so complete. The situations in which this honour is typically violated or betrayed have

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

/124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and 594 wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f. We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" [114] proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young [591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the 612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful 596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/ CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

583 /137 cont./
585 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
602 In impeccable fashion and bright
533 As the sun and the moon...
539 You must prostrate yourself,
562 You must honor your mother-in-law.
And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her
[516] physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

(551) The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
(553) that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
(586) perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
(182) what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
(533) the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
(533) Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
(539) says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove..,(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

(593) Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
(594) expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/139 cont./

593 562 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife protection socially as well as economically.

594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only [842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 [163] Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent. We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.

[789] [844] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order pertaining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them. [121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, [593] first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. [152] Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, [182] since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (of my son)
May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
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593 /144 cont./
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

/145 cont./
121 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between
594 the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

* * * *

594 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form
593 of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/ the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces. To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and
[428] the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision
594 of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social value. As a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she performs these functions without any interference and control.

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representatives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks (593) like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern [861] themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years, 861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers, 858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this [596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their [494] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy 128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of rights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family

593 Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

594 593 /147 cont./

obedience to husband and sons.-Female tasks.- Education of children.	MOTHER	Management of household and of female tasks.-Economic factor.- Means of alliance.-Entrusted with magic and religious ritual.
Obedience to father, brothers, mother,- Female tasks.- Education of children.	DAUGHTERS	Economic factors.-Means of alliance.-Future mothers of families.
Education	CHILDREN	Freedom
OBLIGATION	HIERARCHY of CONJUGAL FAMILY	COMPENSATION

594 128 /148/ their tasks, in order to clarify the remarks we have made (table no. 3).

594 593 Now, a close examination of this table shows very clearly that, though the members of the family are obliged to obey each other and devote themselves to laborious tasks to which they seem harshly bound, they exercise, at the same time, a certain power over each other and enjoy an esteem in society derived from their work and their tasks.

In other words: though the constraints exercised by one tier of the pyramid over lower tiers and the demands of the different tasks corresponding to each tier enslave the persons who find themselves placed there, the vertical distribution of power and prestige based on the competence of each one, gives all the members of the family and to each in particular genuine satisfactions.

As a result, it is justifiable to say that within the framework of the family, where there is an obligation of its members, there is also compensation.

121 593 594 We do not maintain that this duality "obligation-compensation" corresponds to an equation, and that compensation exactly balances obligation. After all, the social repercussion of this double play does not necessarily presuppose the equality of the two terms. In fact, looking at things from their human as much as their pragmatic aspect, one may conclude that, while prescribing strict rules of family behavior,

/148 cont./

Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival, so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/ arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:

--O wife! May you have sons
So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it and make the best of it.

/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/157 cont./
596 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a
474 family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well
121 as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know
596 why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on
474 their economic activity.

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be
596 profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must
474 be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care
[594] and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is
[464] numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomadism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsani society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

/33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tséligato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of pomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

/158 cont./

596 474 602 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Something more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 128 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] [594] [613] [171] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

34. The model of this type of living-together already existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

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596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

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596 594 554 [584] Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

[584] [178] However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

[584] Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 606 554 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 554 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

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596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)
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37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[754] [789] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 593 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must

/167 cont./

mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

/168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

/168 cont./
family, they can, should the case arise, withdraw from the extended family.

Though the women have transferred their independence, their initiative and the free disposal of themselves to the men, their female responsibilities in common economic activities and in magico-religious manifestations, their role in the succession and in the creation of alliances give them considerable satisfactions.

The same is true of the hierarchy within their group and the resulting transfer /of rights and privileges/: first, all the women to the wife of the head, the wives to their mothers-in-law, the recently married women to their sisters-in-law married before them, /169/ and so on, /transfers/ which are compensated for by their authority over the women and children in their own family, by the hope of one day becoming wives or heads, mothers-in-law or older sisters-in-law, and thus exerting in the future a sort of sovereignty over other women.

Social Functions and Social Control of the Extended Family.

The entire analysis of the way of life of the extended family clearly shows that this group is an omni-functional group in the sense that the Sarakatsani expects from it the gratification of all his needs, both material and moral. The Tséligato is a supra-functional group. But its functions imitate those of the extended family in a great many respects. If it is, in certain respects, more efficient than the latter, this is due to the fact that it has at its disposal a larger number of means of action. However, from the functional point of view, the priority over all the Sarakatsani groups belongs indisputably to the extended family. The proof resides in the established fact that neither the conjugal family nor the Tséligato can dispense with it, whereas it can carry on its life outside the Tséligato.

We have not dwelt upon the concrete functions of the extended family, for we have treated them all in connection with its life except one that we have not examined sufficiently: this is the social control (39)

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.
[171]
[594] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up.
171 Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)
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42. See E. Renan: Histoire du peuple d'Israël, pp. 15-25.

the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: La Cité Grecque, pp. 708, 45. Also: Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque, p. 240. Also: Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: La propriété foncière en Grèce, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: La Cité Antique, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

/185 cont./

177 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign [171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

596 594 Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[819] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

/186 cont./

619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent-shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
187 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
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/186 cont./
619 182 184 596 594 494 (613) existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside. The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage), and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances.

[177] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 182 184 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 596 594 494 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
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576 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[494] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

[177] The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally,
constitutes the organization of this society.

[494] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

576 In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
594 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
182 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
177 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
474 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.

[571] This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

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[67] [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the

35. Ibid., p. 45.

aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

[596] Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] [596] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

[474] [596] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] [596] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

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These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

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The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

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As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

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182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the 182 291 261 181 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

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[179] [24] [233] Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of [452] raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

[179] This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [519] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.